

The Story of
WOODROW WILSON

BY DAVID LOTH



WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION



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Revised 1957 to include program suggestions

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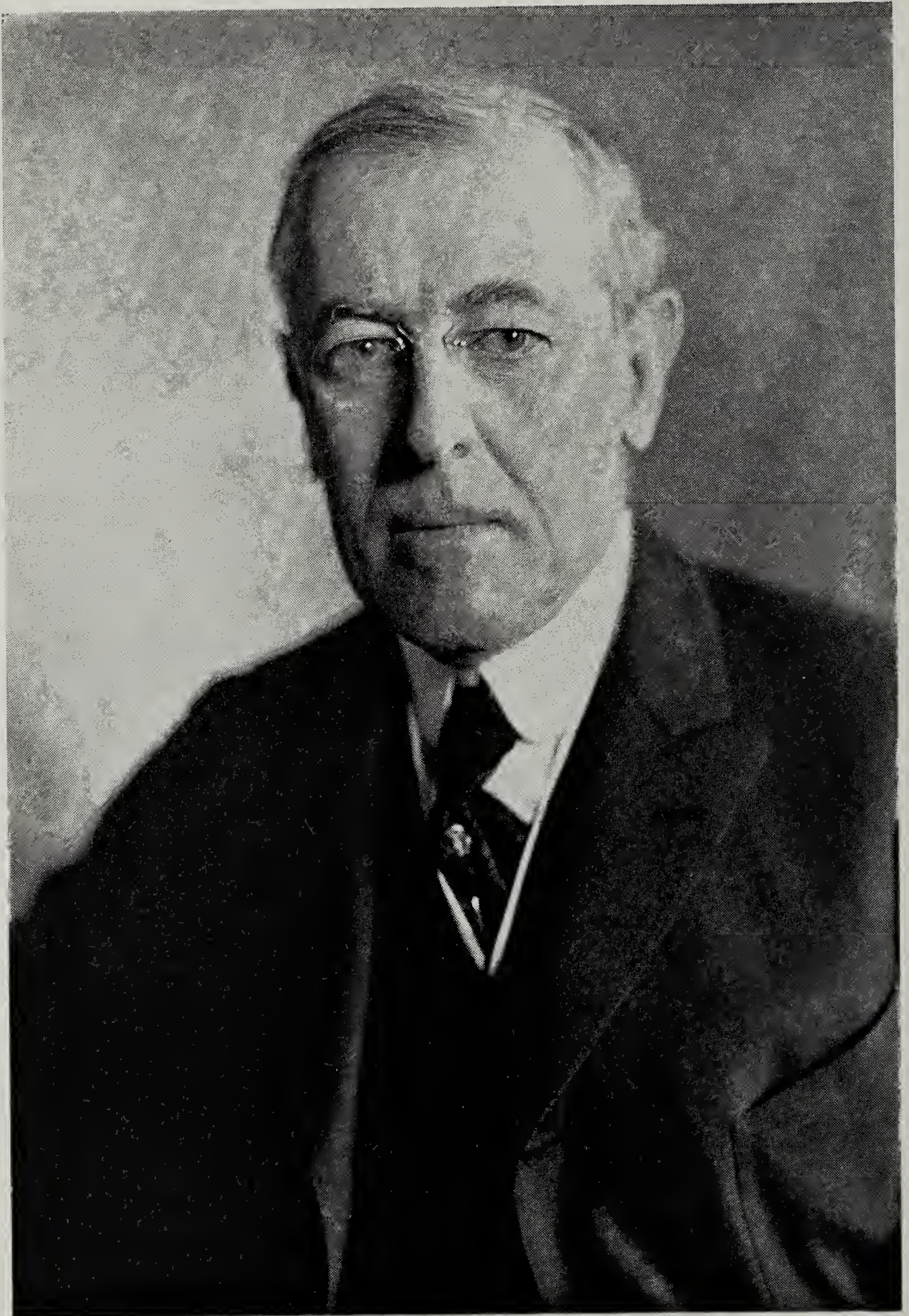
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THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION

THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION was established in 1922 by contributions from over 200,000 individuals throughout the United States as a permanent memorial to Woodrow Wilson, twice President of the United States, in recognition of his service to this country and to all mankind. Throughout the years, within the limits of its resources, the Foundation has developed a program to further public understanding of international problems and the Wilsonian ideals of world cooperation. The Foundation is a non-membership, non-profit, educational organization incorporated under the laws of the State of New York.

For the Centennial year of Wilson's birth, 1856-1956, the Foundation made available a special Centennial edition of the story of one of the half-dozen greatest lives in American history. The Foundation now offers this revised and expanded edition of the biography of a man whose prophetic vision throws light on our problems today.

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation invites all who, in this day of threats to freedom and survival, are determined that the Wilsonian concepts of freedom for man and collective security for peace shall not fade, to share in reaffirming the Wilsonian ideal through appropriate activities and programs.



Harris & Ewing

Woodrow Wilson, 1918

THE STORY OF WOODROW WILSON

TOMMY WILSON was eight years old when he stood beside the parsonage gate, a small rather pale boy with observant eyes, watching a beaten army's human wreckage come limping home. Sick, wounded, weary and not infrequently bitter, the Confederate Army of 1865 was returning to overgrown fields, burned out houses, poverty and debt. As Tommy Wilson's neighbors in the coming years, they gave him a close, intimate view of the aftermath of war. No later experience could eradicate those memories, and since the child was very much father to the man, the future President could never be swept off his feet by any illusion of martial glory. For Thomas Woodrow Wilson was a product of Reconstruction in the South — the South of the Carpet-baggers, the Ku Klux Klan and the Freedmen's Bureau, the South of ruined plantations and the slow decay of a new poor.

Fortunately the boy did not experience the bitterness, the tragedy and the heartaches of defeat which he saw all around him. In his own family the chief influences to mould his character were affection, sympathy, study and a robust individuality never menaced by the spectres of want or fear.

On both sides, Tommy could trace back (others were to take more interest in doing so than he) to Scottish ancestry — the Wilsons by way of Londonderry and the Woodrows more recently by way of Carlisle. Both, but especially the Woodrows, were Presbyterian intellectuals, a breed far from Fundamentalist narrowness and holding firmly to a creed which included the conviction that no honest inquiry can ever be condemned. The Rev. Dr. Joseph Ruggles Wilson, seventh son of a fighting Ohio newspaper proprietor, had married Jessie Woodrow when he entered the ministry. Seven years later, while the Doctor was occupying a pulpit in Staunton, Virginia, their third child and first son was born on December 28, 1856.

The details of his boyhood in Augusta, to which his parents moved before he was two; in Columbia, S. C., where he attended school, and in his first college, were without much interest to those

who want to see foreshadowed in childhood the drama of a great man's later battles. For one thing, those were singularly happy years. Dr. Wilson, a man of real wisdom as well as great charm, had all the real paternal virtues. Among them were kindness, patience and tolerance, a combination that won his son's admiration and devotion even more than his scholarly attainments or his pedagogic skill.

The son was no child prodigy. He was remembered by fellow students as an average scholar who talked a great deal. He was a keen but not outstanding ballplayer, and his love of reading was not inflicted upon his comrades although it was storing his mind with much miscellaneous information that would have to be sorted out later. In the great deal of talk so long remembered, there was notable only a certain precision of speech, the result of one of Dr. Wilson's few points of discipline. The clergyman insisted that his children say exactly what they meant, and it was a habit that they never lost.

Augusta was a pleasant place, even in the '60's, for it had been spared a visit by General Sherman in his march through Georgia, but Columbia was a typical post-war town in a war zone. Half in ruins, half rebuilt, it was also the seat of South Carolina's carpetbag government where the application of Reconstruction principles by a radical Republican regime was a more bitter experience than Sherman's army. The city was miserably poor and even more miserably governed, but Dr. Wilson's two salaries as minister and teacher, in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, plus a welcome Woodrow legacy, kept at least one home free from the surrounding poverty. That and the Wilsonian tolerance — two of the Doctor's brothers had served as generals in the Union Army — saved young Tommy's views on Reconstruction from being confined to an unreasoning hate for Yankees. Yet it was not until he went to Princeton in September, 1875, after a year at spartan Davidson College in North Carolina, that he heard *The Star Spangled Banner* for the first time.

POLITICAL AMBITIONS

University life brought out some of the youth's exceptional qualities. While by no means first in his class scholastically, he did gain undergraduate prestige as a debater. More important, he acquired lasting and warm friendships, even with Northerners. But most

important of all, he discovered that government and politics were a study that would always fascinate him. Even at college he understood that theory was not to be divorced from reality, so as he read Burke, Bagehot, Bright and Macauley along with "The Federalist" and Aristotle, he tried to reconcile their teachings with the main event of his sophomore year — the Hayes-Tilden campaign. The result of his thoughtfulness was that two years later he had reached a great many conclusions, not necessarily lasting, about procedure for reforming politics. At the head of the list stood a great faith in oratory. That was the means, he hoped, for achieving a system of Cabinet responsibility, greater power for the national executive and less for Congressional committees. He considered himself, in spite of his Southern background, as a follower of Hamiltonian Federalism.

As for personal ambition, that involved a dream of legislative preeminence, and he was so much impressed by the oratorical potential of the Upper House that he actually practiced writing the signature "Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Senator from Virginia." More to the point, he reduced some of his new knowledge and thinking to an article on "Cabinet Government in the United States," and got it printed by one of the country's chief learned journals, *The International Review*. The associate editor who accepted it was a budding New England intellectual named Henry Cabot Lodge.

This triumph and his graduation in June, 1879, were followed by a characteristically pessimistic reaction. Wilson's temperament inclined him to look beyond the elation of any success to the difficulties ahead. At 22, the obstacles to a political career seemed and were formidable. First of all, he had to break the news that he felt no call to the ministry. The Wilsons did not attempt to argue with him, but in the closeness of that family's affection he could not but realize that he was inflicting pain on beloved parents. Furthermore, the only apparent road to politics was law, and that was even more distasteful to Wilson than divinity. He prepared to follow it as a necessary but unfruitful duty, so it was not surprising that he could only hope gloomily that he and a friend would be able to "keep ourselves fresh from the prejudices and free from the foolish inaccuracies of those with whom we will constantly be thrown by the necessities of our law practices."

In that mood he enrolled at the University of Virginia, a small but notable training center for legal talent. Study of the law did not improve on close acquaintance, but there was ample opportunity for debate, a sport to which the University then accorded an importance later reserved for football. Wilson had a chance to display his courage as well as his oratorical skill, for one day he assured an audience of Southerners that their defeat in war had been a good thing since the South never could have become a great independent nation. He meant it, too, for he was still a Hamiltonian without sufficient interest in Jefferson, during his college days, to make the brief pilgrimage from the University to Monticello.

Ill health in the month of his 24th birthday interrupted his academic career, and he finished his law studies at home — Dr. Wilson now held a charge in Wilmington, N. C. — varied by his first pedagogic experience, gained by teaching Latin to his brother, Joseph, ten years his junior. He fell in love, too, the series of picnics, drives, poetry readings and gifts of flowers reaching their climax in a formal proposal of marriage. The girl, a pretty cousin named Harriet Woodrow, rejected him without noticeable tragedy on either side, and the incident's chief interest is that at this time and perhaps in her honor the young man adopted history's form of his name, "Woodrow Wilson," the culmination of a series of experiments with Thos. W., T. Woodrow and plain T.

LEGAL INTERLUDE

The practice of law was to change Wilson's life as little as the change of name, perhaps because he had so little to practice. Atlanta, most bustling of Southern cities, had seemed a likely field for a young lawyer, and there in the summer of 1882, Wilson prepared to open an office in partnership with Edward Renick, a University of Virginia product as lacking in a practice as Wilson and as dependent upon a minister father. Neither of them was inclined to talk shop, as two young attorneys about to launch a career should have been, and they remembered that summer as spent largely in discourse on government, philosophy, literature and history. For the junior partner there was also an introduction to practical politics.

A typical Wilsonian performance, the friends and enemies of

later life would have called it. For it was an appearance before a Tariff Commission which was gathering testimony upon which Congress was supposed to base legislation. The six members were concerned with the tariff solely from the standpoint of votes and the immediate effect on local industry. Wilson gave them a very sound, perhaps a little pompous lecture on economics and history. With the strange obtuseness of the average statesman of that day — (anyone who thinks he can denote signs of improvement in this is welcome to the illusion) — they argued that because Wilson was learned he was impractical, that because he had studied a subject he must be an idealist. Although they were ignorant or venal or both they considered themselves far more competent to settle affairs involving their country's well being. Wilson always exhibited a surprising patience in the face of this sort of criticism, open or implied, but he never quite got used to it. He had owed his first exposure to it, during his appearance before the Tariff Commission, to a friend of Renick's, Walter Hines Page, a North Carolina writer who at 27 was enjoying a considerable success in the North and had won an assignment to travel with the Commission. His friendship was the chief fruit of Wilson's testimony.

Shortly after this incident, the October term of court began, and Wilson was duly admitted to the bar. Almost his only practice was as a man of business attending to his mother's rather modest investments, varied by bill collecting and petty court work which he described as "the dreadful drudgery which attends the initiation into our profession." In all of it he could see no advance toward his goal, so he refused to work at it very hard. His mornings were more than long enough to take care of his practice; afternoons were devoted to writing (not very successfully from the standpoint of publication but invaluable for practice) and reading "on my old and loved topics, history and political science." Wilson was really preparing himself more thoroughly for statecraft than most lawyers but it was unorthodox training.

He was spared undue worry over personal economy, for Dr. Wilson's salary was large enough to cover his needs, but on an April Sunday in 1883, he met a powerful reason for achieving financial independence. Her name was Ellen Louise Axson, and he first saw

her blonde good looks in church while he was visting his mother's sister in Rome, Ga. Immediately interested, he learned that she was the minister's daughter, aged 23, and since her mother's recent death the mistress of a household that included two much younger brothers and a baby sister. She wanted to be a painter, and when Wilson called at the Manse, he decided that she was uncommonly beautiful, sympathetic and intelligent. He was far more accurate than most young men in his condition, and for her part she was greatly drawn to the slender, moderately handsome lawyer who at this period wore a fine, fairish moustache and short sideburns. He was sometimes moody, but on the whole a reasonably gay companion. His humor — funny rather than witty — kept his rather remarkable erudition in check.

ACADEMIC LIFE

Love of Ellen — he was not Southerner enough to accept the rather simpering "Ellie Lou" of Georgia speech — sharpened his distaste for the law. He was quick to discover that his own talents were not the kind to win preferment either in his profession or in the lower levels of political practice, so he had decided to follow the example of his favorite political philosopher, Bagehot, and abandon the bar for the classroom. His idea was to make his career by moulding the careers of others, by writing and teaching, although in his mind the teaching was to be simply a means of livelihood to support the writing. Further academic training was a prerequisite and 26 was a bit old for it, but both Dr. Wilson and Ellen were encouraging.

Johns Hopkins, a young university but the most progressive in the country, refused him a fellowship, so he determined to attend anyway "for the purpose of pursuing special studies in history and political science." On the way to Baltimore he took advantage of a meeting with Ellen by proposing — employing a quotation from Bagehot rather than something poetic — and was accepted. His singularly happy mood did not, however, reconcile him to the boredom of routine lectures. He demanded of Johns Hopkins "grand excursions among imperial policies," and in spite of the grandiloquence, Dr. Herbert B. Adams, one of the really great educators of

the century, readily granted him permission to pursue his studies at his own gait. Study and writing — he placed a few articles on government — were pleasantly varied by assistance to James Bryce, then lecturing at Johns Hopkins and gathering material for “The American Commonwealth.” The days were varied too by reading somewhat lighter works than those which would help Bryce, by attending baseball games, singing in the glee club, going to college parties, seeing Irving and Ellen Terry, being delighted with the new operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan, applauding such dramatic hits as “Baby Bootle,” debating, visiting art galleries and exhibitions — this last because Ellen was in New York studying art.

It was a full life and a good one, culminating in a book based largely on his articles and the works of Bagehot. Published early in 1885 under the title of “Congressional Government,” the main argument was for an executive who would actually lead Congress and administer the government, taking real power out of the hands of the relatively unknown, irresponsible caucus experts. The book was a success, but Wilson’s elation was attended by two characteristic reactions. One was the inscription in Ellen’s copy: “In sending you my first book, darling, I renew the gift of myself.” The other was a quick descent into disappointment, for the acclaim only emphasized the improbability of his ever achieving “a *statesman’s* career.” He was a little dissatisfied with his own disposition, too, offering Ellen a chance to escape before being tied to such a sensitive spirit, overly ambitious perhaps, who talked too much and no doubt would always be poor. Her answer was adequate, and he set out to “put himself up to the highest bidder” for academic talent. This turned out to be Bryn Mawr College, which was willing to pay \$1,500 a year for a man who would take the whole department of history upon himself.

“You never heard of Bryn Mawr College?” Wilson asked Ellen Axson. “Well, neither did I until a very few weeks ago. The fact is that Bryn Mawr College has not been started yet.”

With the assurance of the new institution’s \$1,500, he and Ellen were married in Savannah on June 25, 1885, and at 28, Woodrow Wilson was faced for the first time with the prospect of earning his own living.

The bridegroom was one of those men who are greatly improved by marriage. Domesticity smoothed some of the rough edges of his character. With a sympathetic group around him, dependent upon him, he experienced far fewer moods of unreasonable discouragement. He developed thoughtfulness for others — always a good escape from exaggerated introspection. Parental responsibility, which came to him with the birth of three daughters during the next few years, only added to his love of home.

Teaching at first was not quite so much to his taste. During his three years at Bryn Mawr he was inclined to blame his disappointment on the fact that he had girls for his only students. In 1885 there was still a good deal of argument over the question of minds for women. While Wilson was not of those who held that women had none, he was no convinced exponent of the other side. Even contacts with the brilliant executive head of the college, Dean M. Carey Thomas, did not influence him very deeply. She was a woman and his Southern chivalry revolted at the prospect of being subordinate to a female — one five days his junior at that. Nevertheless he set at this work in good temper, and only displayed his prejudices when he insisted on putting quotation marks around “Dean” whenever he wrote of Miss Thomas. His other sacrifices consisted of shaving off his moustache for the sake of the girls — at least so he said — and devoting time to go down to Baltimore to take an examination for a doctorate, Miss Thomas and Ellen agreeing that as head of a department he should have a more imposing title than “Mr.”

For the rest, he was learning a great deal more than he was teaching, for he had to organize courses ranging over the whole field of recorded history, much of which was new to him. Although the class might consist of only one girl, since Bryn Mawr’s total student body that first year numbered 42, he prepared thoroughly. The result was new material for articles, a text book called “The State” and a beautiful dream of a life work that would present in many volumes “The Philosophy of Politics.”

“I want to come at the true conception of the nature of the modern democratic state by way of an accurate exposition of the history of democratic development,” he wrote to his publisher.

The vision was to remain with him all his life, and much of his work was done with the idea of incorporating it in this titanic task of tracing "the genesis and development of modern democratic institutions." Meanwhile he enlarged his family by bringing North Ellen's brother and cousin for schooling under better auspices than prevailed in the South, and for many years there was always a young kinsman in the Wilson home to take advantage of educational opportunities.

These years saw, too, his final transformation from a man of sectional feeling into an American, a process so complete that when he moved from Bryn Mawr to take the chair of history at Wesleyan University in Connecticut, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, one of the country's leading historians, asked him to undertake the period since 1829 in a series on the growth of the United States. The reputation won by his writing and lecturing brought him the offer of a professorship of public law at Princeton, and he accepted with unconcealed delight. Not only did he have fond memories of the place, but he could confine himself to governmental principles and would be, he hoped, influencing the future leaders of the nation.

PRINCETON

Princeton in that year of 1890 was a thoroughly conservative institution. Since its foundation by Jonathan Edwards, it had always been headed by a Presbyterian divine, and Wilson was one of a remarkable group of younger men who, impatient with tradition for its own sake, were to carry their university to the forefront of the educational picture. Wilson's popularity as a teacher was such that in a few years his lecture hall, which seated 400, was filled every time he rose to speak. He was writing, lecturing around the country and paying extremely close attention to the affairs of the nation as the '90's ran their expansive and gay, disorganized and miserable course. Grover Cleveland's integrity and efficiency gave the observer of the national scene some hope, but for the rest there was nothing to win a man of Wilson's thoughtful nature to either party. The robber barons and plundering politicians, the bewildered and rebellious agrarians were equally wrong in the eyes of a man who had studied history. When the tremendous drama of '96 offered as

Presidential candidate only Bryan, a golden tongued orator and McKinley, an amiable figurehead, Wilson could have little choice because he had long since lost his earlier naive faith in the power of mere speech no matter how beautiful. Nor in the neutrality engendered by his disgust with both parties could he share the hysteria of men who saw bloody revolution impersonated in "the boy orator of the Platte" or of men who saw all human ills remedied by the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1.

Despite the gloom with which he surveyed the political world, Wilson was very happy personally. His books and lectures and teaching were providing a more comfortable income than he had dared to hope for ten years earlier. He had built his own house where he could store his books, entertain his friends and contemplate the perfection of his family. Old Dr. Wilson, a widower since '88, made his home there, too, and the only flaws in the pleasant picture were occasional spells of ill health and occasional twinges of impatience with the continuing conservatism of college authorities. That last was shared by some of the trustees, three of whom were Wilson's classmates, and when it came time to choose a new President on June 9, 1902, they worked so well for their friend that for the first time in the memory of one of the trustees, they voted unanimously. Woodrow Wilson's name was the only one presented for the vacant office. Most of them probably did not know what they were doing, for they had little conception of the new President's ideas for moulding youth. They were still not alarmed when he outlined his view in a single sentence:

"I am not going to propose that we compel the undergraduate to work all the time, but I am going to propose that we make the undergraduate want to work all the time."

The only means for achieving this goal were revolutionary. New halls, laboratories and libraries were only the physical part. New teaching methods were more fundamental, as was a complete revision of the curriculum. The whole program was to cost \$12,000,000, and a generation accustomed to talk of astronomical figures may sense something of the shock that jolted Wilson's trustees from the fact that up to this time Princeton had collected in endowments over a period of a century and a half what was regarded as the goodly

sum of \$4,000,000.

Scholastically, Wilson actually saw his program meet the schedule he set for it, but he had to fight hard, almost as hard as he fought for health. Neuritis, painful as it was, could not keep him from his desk, and when he could no longer hold a pen in his right hand, he taught himself to write with his left or tapped out reports on his typewriter. But in May, 1906, he went blind in his left eye and could not use his right hand at all. Specialists called it hardening of the arteries and incurable, but they were wrong. Rest and a summer in England restored him so thoroughly that he felt fit to embark on another crusade.

“My own ideas for the University are those of genuine democracy and serious scholarship,” he said.

The standard of scholarship, which Princeton had by that time achieved, would have left Woodrow Wilson a great name in the history of education. The fight for democracy made him a great name in the history of the world.

The issue on which battle for democratic education was joined was the harmless custom of eating in groups. Undergraduate life centered around the eating clubs, originally bands of congenial youths but now grown, thanks to munificent alumni, into rather splendid places with a great deal of snob appeal. The pursuit of membership in the more exclusive clubs certainly hampered the pursuit of knowledge, and was essentially opposed to Wilson's ideal of a democratic community. The President of Princeton was too intelligent to suggest the mere abolition of the clubs. He proposed rather to incorporate them into the University as separate colleges to one of which every student would belong, each college membership living together, eating together, studying together.

Wilson fought the idea through the faculty in a bitter struggle that cost him some of his oldest friends, but the trustees were horrified at what they called an attack on property interests, meaning the buildings of the clubs. Many of them also sincerely believed that the greatest good that could be bestowed by higher education was the contacts made as member of a first class eating club. Learning to them was subordinate to friendship with men who could be helpful in a future business career.

A nervous breakdown interrupted Wilson's advocacy of the reform, and soon after he recovered, the struggle over the clubs was merged into a fight over the Graduate School. Dean West, a huge bulldog of a man with a wealth of classical scholarship, wanted to make his school a sort of medieval cloister where the serious scholar would find all the virtues of the good life along with opportunities to study apart from undergraduate immaturity. Wilson wanted an equally splendid Graduate School, but in the heart of the University and organized so that the older men who attended it would have some influence on the undergraduate.

Neither of these questions of higher education could have aroused much public interest had they not been tied to fundamental issues which the people generally recognized as affecting them closely and which politicians always had in mind when they were considering the qualifications of a candidate for high office. Very few Americans cared at all where Princeton students ate, how their colleges were organized or what sort of clubs they had. But a very wide public was eager to hear all the details of how Princeton's President was seeking to establish democracy in an institution that had aristocratic connotations for most citizens. It was the sort of thing they ardently desired to see done on a broader scale. Therefore they read his articles, crowded to hear him as he lectured to audiences as far west as Colorado and spurred their newspapers to coverage of events at Princeton.

As for the Graduate School fight, that was developing into a contest even easier for plain people to understand. Basically — once educational methods were ignored as most of the country ignored them — the question was one of money power. To the nation at large the money power has been the hottest of political issues for years. At Princeton they could see the whole problem reduced to easily comprehensible proportions, and then they could see a rather scholarly looking gentleman playing St. George to the trustees' dragon.

Money had entered the dispute when a wealthy alumnus, William C. Procter, head of one of the leading soap families in the country, offered half a million dollars to build a school along West's lines provided other donations equal to his own were raised and further



Underwood and Underwood

Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University, crossing the campus.

provided that a quarter million bequest recently left to Princeton be devoted to the same purpose. It was an admirable example of how a minority financial interest can control a considerable enterprise, and it was also a good test of money power in education.

"You can't beat a million dollars," men said, but they watched admiringly as Wilson proceeded to try, and they cheered with real good will when he actually succeeded.

The trustees, confronted with a flat alternative of Wilson's resignation or rejection of Procter's terms, decided they preferred the man to the money. They were driven to the distasteful choice because their President believed that a principle worth fighting for — and being beaten for — was at stake. To him the question was one of integrity of purpose, whether he could acquiesce in a practice which made a soap magnate the arbiter of educational methods simply because he had money and was willing to spend it. Many people who thought the wealth of Procter and his like bought undue influence in politics, too, were attracted to Wilson as a public man because they recognized the uncompromising nature of his democracy. Others, politicians like Col. George Harvey of *Harper's Magazine*, thought Wilson would be a fine figurehead to put Democrats back in national office. The talk of a university president for high public office was unusual, but it had been going on for some years. As early as 1906, Harvey had declared:

"... it is with a sense almost of rapture that I contemplate even the remotest possibility of casting a ballot for the president of Princeton University to become the President of the United States."

The empty honor of a nomination to the Senate, offered by New Jersey's Democratic bosses, was an indication of further political interest. Wilson declined it, having too much common sense to accept mere courtesies from such political leaders. New Jersey's Senators were then elected by the legislature, which was safely Republican. In 1908, the educator also had the wisdom to make sure that a few scattered suggestions of nominating him for second place on a Bryan ticket should go no further. Wilson's views about the Commoner's qualifications for high office had not changed since '96.

GOVERNOR

Victory at Princeton made Wilson a potential candidate. Defeat was to develop the potentiality. While the country was hearing the praises of a man who could beat a million dollars, a Princeton alumnus whose estate was estimated variously from two to ten millions died, leaving it all to the Graduate School with West as trustee. That was in May, 1910, and Wilson foresaw the result as soon as he got the news, remarking:

“We have beaten the living, but we cannot fight the dead. The game is up.”

But it was his introduction to a larger game, for he was determined to resign in support of his principles, and the prestige of the battle, combined with the astute political advice of men like Harvey, led the Democratic State machine to nominate Woodrow Wilson for Governor. Two months later they elected him, and in the interval he had achieved the remarkable electioneering feat of winning over some of his most ardent opponents within his own party. When the Democratic bosses of Newark, Jersey City and Trenton put Wilson over on the first ballot in a well controlled convention, they rode roughshod over the reform element, which decided it had just another machine candidate to deal with, since they suspected any man supported by the bosses who were behind Wilson. Reformers were bitter at first. But the man's campaign and his qualifications converted them so thoroughly that one, Judge John W. Westcott, twice put Woodrow Wilson's name before a Democratic national convention and another, Joseph P. Tumulty, served as his devoted secretary for ten of the most significant years in history.

High on the list of qualifications were Wilson's conviction that government could be honest and progressive and efficient, his willingness to fight for his principles, his persuasive power as a speaker and writer, his extensive scholarship in the problems of government, his desire to lead his party toward its goal and his very obvious integrity. Less apparent but of equal importance to success in office were his considerable shrewdness in judging character, his almost unique powers of concentration, his genuine tolerance and a great deal more practical experience than most politicians or political observers knew.

This last made his scholarship of real value. It also provided a good many surprises for statesmen (and others) who supposed that a college professor must be a starry-eyed idealist and theoretician easy to deceive. For in the administration of a university like Princeton, Wilson had had to deal with affairs at least equal in magnitude to those of local government, the usual training ground for governors. As a mere business such a university is impressive. Building, payroll, organization of personnel are all on a scale of large enterprise, and faculty politics are notoriously keen. In dealing with men like Dean West and Hibben, Procter and Cleveland Dodge (one of his closest friends), and all the flashing minds of professors and trustees, Wilson had served a far more arduous political apprenticeship than most new governors.

In January, 1911, he set out to prove to a somewhat wider audience than New Jersey that he meant what he had been saying for the last twenty-five years, and that he had the skill to carry the words into execution. His program called for nominations by direct primary, a corrupt practices act for the State, regulation of public utilities and an employees' liability act. This was a very advanced liberalism, and the bosses who thought they owned Wilson because they had put him in office were indignant. He put through his bills in spite of them, denied the biggest of them a Senatorship and got competent men for key jobs — independents, a few liberal Republicans, but mostly good Democrats, for his studies in political history had taught him that a leader has to work through an organization. He knew he could not build a new one, so he was content for the most part to improve the one that was at hand. It did not conciliate the bosses, but it gave New Jersey her best administration in years and made her Governor one of the outstanding candidates for Democratic Presidential nomination.

Observers who regarded politics as a game with rules like bridge thought the Governor was showing an amateurish weakness that was bound to cost him his chance. The commentators of the day spent a good deal of time and newspaper space explaining that a candidate could never get a Presidential nomination without the delegation from his own state, and that in New Jersey the bosses would inevitably control their delegation. The so-called amateur, if he had

condescended to answer, could have pointed out that his principle of leadership in an executive is far more effective than appeasement, that for a man strong enough and bold enough, the rules of the political game did not exist. And as the conventions of 1912 drew near, it was apparent that local bosses were going to be a great deal less important than the party's three-time loser, William Jennings Bryan.

Wilson's relations with the Commoner revealed a good deal of the character of both men. At Princeton, the student of government had steadily disapproved of the Democracy's champion from the moment the boy orator of the Platte first burst upon the national scene with his famous Cross of Gold speech in '96. At that time Professor Wilson had frigidly interpreted the drama as simply "the impression he made upon an excited assembly by a good voice and a few ringing sentences flung forth just after a cold man who gave unpalatable counsel had sat down." Scorn of Bryan grew with the years until in 1908, the President of Princeton wrote to Adrian Joline, a Princeton trustee:

"Would that we could do something at once dignified and effective to knock Mr. Bryan, once for all, into a cocked hat."

The two met for the first time in 1911, when Bryan was delivering an address at Princeton and Wilson was already a strong Presidential possibility. The Governor was easily charmed by Bryan's lovable, vital personality. The Commoner, never much of an analyst, felt without thinking about it the other's sincere liberalism. They got along so well that when Joline maliciously published Wilson's letter, Bryan was willing to see the move solely as a scheme of "the big financial interests . . . to make a rift in the progressive ranks of the Democratic party."

But in the pre-convention days, Bryan was not committed to his new friend's candidacy. Chief activity was that of Wilson, himself, in speaking tours of such duration that some Jerseyites complained that they had elected a Governor, not a Presidential candidate. Other support was being organized by a varied group. Some were attracted by the prospect of winning, some by the ideals and purpose and ability of their candidate. In the first group might be included William F. McCombs, a former Princeton student and

manager of the campaign; A. Mitchell Palmer, Pennsylvania lawyer, and Harvey. The second group numbered Cleveland Dodge and Page, now a very important editor; William G. McAdoo of Hudson tube fame, and Col. E. M. House of Texas, as wise a behind-the-scenes player of politics as the country had produced.

Harvey was generally regarded as one of the main props of the Wilson campaign, and his loss before the convention was an admirable example of how simple directness can alarm politicians and strengthen statesmen. Harvey's magazine was considered a J. P. Morgan mouthpiece at that time; the editor was known as an aide of Thomas Fortune Ryan, a leading franchise grabber, and there was a good deal of snickering at this backing for a man of Wilson's famous hostility to "the money power." Harvey, therefore, asked politely if the Governor thought his advocacy was becoming embarrassing. Wilson, who seldom thought anything could be gained by concealing his views, failed to return the expected soothing reassurances. He came out in fact with a blunt affirmative, and the greatly offended Harvey promptly went in the opposition camp. The orthodox politicians were sure Wilson had made a great mistake, but actually he had won new support by proving that he was perfectly sincere in his principles.

By the time the Democrats assembled in convention at Baltimore it was obvious that any faintly progressive man they put up would be elected because the Republicans had split hopelessly, with Taft holding the official nomination and Theodore Roosevelt withdrawing to head a third party. Fortunately for candidates, they are not obliged to attend conventions, and Wilson was spared the heat and intrigue and oratory of Baltimore. He remained quietly near the sea where the hottest bulletins came coolly over the telephone. At the blackest moment for his prospects, when McCombs told him all was lost, he seemed actually relieved and started planning with Mrs. Wilson a trip to Rydal in England. But at the strategic moment, Bryan swung his influence to the New Jersey Governor and after forty-six ballots the exhausted delegates nominated Wilson, whose first words on the subject were:

"Well, dear, we won't go to Rydal after all."

He had a great many more words to say in the months that

followed. He spoke on the tariff — not so ponderously but just as sanely as the fledgling lawyer in Atlanta thirty years before — on money, the trusts, immigration, women's votes. There was nothing in the oratory to shake the nation, for his was a platform that in principle had been enunciated often. Actually he polled fewer votes than Bryan had done in any of his three campaigns, but although he had only a little over 6,000,000 out of nearly 15,000,000 the result was a landslide in the electoral college — 435 out of 531.

THE NEW FREEDOM

"It would be the irony of fate," Wilson remarked, "if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs."

He was 56 years old, and had spent most of his life fitting himself to deal with the domestic problems of the nation. Foreign affairs in the very happy days of the republic during which he had made his career had bulked small indeed. The little flurry of the Spanish war and the acquisition of overseas empire had not altered the habits of thought of most Americans, including Wilson, although it had made the United States a world power with a whole new set of interests and responsibilities. The new President had never given these anything like as much thought as he had bestowed upon the tariff, Congressional organization, or monopolies. Like virtually all his countrymen, he took peace for granted and assumed that if a nation minded its own business it need not concern itself with the embroilments of others.

While Fate was preparing for Wilson one of the most stupendous ironies in history, he had a comparatively brief interlude in which to inaugurate the domestic reforms which, if larger tasks had not intervened, might well have given the era the name by which a few people soon began to call it — "The New Freedom," taken from a book of Wilson's campaign speeches. Even without the complexities of foreign affairs, the domestic scene presented problems that would tax the ability and strength of any man.

Knowing the mere physical burden of the Presidency, Wilson had once written that Chief Executives should be chosen from among the nation's inevitably small supply of "wise and prudent athletes." A very mild liking for golf was as near as Wilson could come to the

last part of this definition, and as he drove to his inauguration beside the robust bulk of Taft, he appeared to be positively frail. However, he weighed 179 pounds and was enjoying his best health in years, so he felt up to the strain of office.

In the interval between election and inauguration he had planned an orderly campaign for constructive reform. He proposed to tackle one problem at a time because, he said, he had a single track mind. His highly developed gift for concentration encouraged that method of procedure, for Wilson was one of those rare men who could will his mind to fix itself on a given subject and stay there by the hour. Therefore, he envisioned for himself a series of programs dealing with the tariff, the credit system, the trusts, the farmers, labor and governmental machinery.

The remarkable thing about his plan was that he carried most of it out, although not on the clockwork schedule of his desire, in spite of the fact that fate was being very ironical indeed about foreign affairs. Equally distracting was the amazing hunger of Democrats for appointive office after sixteen years of starving in the wilderness of opposition. Wilson balked at the operation of the patronage system and succeeded in extending the protecting cover of civil service to an increased number of jobs, as every recent President has done, but he soon learned that an argument with an influential Senator over a small town postmastership might endanger really important legislation and still not improve the quality of postmasters. As every President has had to do because of the sheer volume of his work, he left patronage to others.

Reduction of tariff rates, long promised even by Republicans but never actually pressed very hard in Congress even by Democrats, was the most spectacular if not the most important victory of the new administration. The pressure of local interests, which kept legislators voting for duties to protect home town goods regardless of party and personal principle, had defeated previous efforts at reform. Wilson turned the spotlight on these local interests, pointed unwaveringly at the high tariff lobby and led his party to a real triumph.

An equally bitter fight was necessary to set up the Federal Reserve system. The leading bankers and financiers of the country were denouncing as arrant socialism the proposal that there be

some form of public control over privately owned banks. They wanted the banks to appoint the Federal Reserve Board since they would own the assets. Wilson silenced but did not convince them with:

“The railroads are owned by the railroad companies, are they not? Which of you gentlemen thinks the railroads should select the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission?”

The onward sweep of the New Freedom was further alarming to good conservatives as a rural credits program was introduced and the radical Attorney General, James C. McReynolds (later a highly conservative member of the Supreme Court), advanced with trust busting sword in hand upon the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. But that was not all. A Federal Trade Commission was established with some control over what had hitherto been a man's private business, and an act was passed exempting labor unions from the penalties of anti-trust laws, thereby setting up the principle that labor is not an article of commerce. Revival of the practice of a President addressing Congress in person — abandoned by Jefferson because he was such a poor public speaker — created almost as much stir as a major bill.

Perhaps the best proof of the soundness of Wilson's program is that just one generation later it can be taken for granted by liberals and conservatives alike. Few bankers now regard the Federal Reserve System as an instrument of red radicalism. The Trade Commission, the Clayton Act, the budget, the farm credit program, even a certain amount of reason in tariff rates are generally accepted features of the American way of life, and it is hard to understand the violent opposition they aroused only thirty years ago. An eight hour day for railroad labor was opposed with more understandable if not more justifiable bitterness, for it was the forerunner of a whole series of labor legislation in the future. Far less explicable was the heat engendered by the nomination of Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court. That was the sort of appointment Wilson was willing to fight for, defy tradition for and lose sleep over, but he had not expected that one of the greatest judicial minds the country had produced would be so bitterly attacked. For nearly five months the battle raged, but Wilson fiercely resisted suggestions that he with-

draw the Boston lawyer's name. He put the fight on the high level of principle, and the country was beginning to learn that when he refused to compromise on an issue of principle, he was likely to be a tough battler. He won so many victories that before his first term was up he had achieved a goodly share of the purpose he had outlined in one of his campaign speeches:

"What I am interested in is having the government of the United States more concerned about human rights than about property rights."

A NEW APPRENTICESHIP

The entire domestic program of the administration was constantly hampered by the unwelcome intrusion of foreign affairs. The United States had long since passed the stage when it could remain unaffected by the workings of international politics, but only now were the effects catching up with an indifferent country. In the midst of a world upheaval, Wilson was obliged to master a new science, diplomacy, and events were his teacher, for of the men around him none was much more learned in the tangle of foreign problems than he was himself. In spite of what he called his single track mind, he managed to do a good deal of studying, for from the beginning of his term he was almost never without some sort of first class problem in foreign affairs.

Ten days before his inauguration, the Mexican, Victoriano Huerta, had provided a neat problem in international ethics by murdering the liberal hope of the Revolution, Madero. The complexity of the forces involved were extremely baffling for a novice. There was the traditional feature of foreign policy, protection of United States lives and property abroad. There were the diplomats, such as the Ambassador to Mexico and some of the State Department experts, who wanted order at all costs and thought Huerta should be recognized so he could try and provide it. There were the even more impressive authorities like Senator Lodge — the same who twenty-five years before had accepted a Princeton student's essay — who hoped for some strong man "who will do sufficient throat cutting to insure peace." There were the jingoes who thought any excuse good enough to assert United States prestige and United States power.

Wilson could not bring himself to share the throat-cutting preferences of a Lodge, the simple belligerence of the Jingo nor the unthinking materialism of big property owners. Yet he had no immediate alternative to offer, and as he groped for a Mexican policy that would be in keeping with his principles, events outran his thinking. He proposed to withhold recognition from any government founded upon "arbitrary or irregular force," a doctrine that might preserve a dictatorship as readily as a democracy. The policy, which Wilson called "watchful waiting" — a phrase that tended to hide something of its negative nature — did not immediately cause Huerta's downfall, but it did lead the watchful waiter from one unpleasant situation to another.

With Mexico in a chaos of civil war after the long rule of Porfirio Diaz, there was little hope of realizing overnight in that country Wilson's principle of a government that would command the free support of the governed. But pursuit of that principle led to very real intervention — the occupation of Vera Cruz, the virtual blockade of the coast, the expedition sent under Pershing to capture the raider Villa. But behind all this — and behind the military occupations of Nicaragua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic—was the principle of cooperation and what Wilson had called "the self restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it." Despite the contradiction of talk and action, the good intention was so obvious, the man so sincere that other American republics failed to take as much offense as they had at the milder measures of other administrations. This friendliness bore fruit in an offer from Argentina, Brazil and Chile to extricate Wilson from Mexican toils by arbitration. He accepted gratefully, and although Mexico was far from peaceful, Huerta was forced out at last.

Two even greater gains than Huerta's fall stemmed from his initiation into foreign affairs. One was a Wilsonian draft of a Pan American pact which would have bound all the republics of the Western Hemisphere to "mutual guaranties of political independence . . . and . . . territorial integrity," phrases to be used in a far more controversial document. The second was that Wilsonian advocacy of this principle was the inspiration (according to such authorities as Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis) for the new policy to which Wilson's

Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the young Franklin D. Roosevelt, twenty years later would give the name of "Good Neighbor."

THE MAIN EVENT

The lessons of the Mexican and Caribbean troubles were only preliminaries to a larger course of study in foreign affairs. The fall of Huerta had been preceded by a few days by the murder of an Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo. Wilson could not give either of the events the attention that historians might have expected because he was spending a good deal of his time during the hot July days in a sickroom. Mrs. Wilson was dying, and it was at her bedside on August 4th that he scribbled in pencil the first draft of a futile offer of arbitration to the powers of Europe. Two days later the girl who had wanted to be a painter was dead in the White House, and her husband was almost glad of the enormous press of work that helped him bear his sorrow. For he felt himself truly desolate and alone and even a little humble, so that when Ellen's brother reminded him one evening shortly after the funeral of his proposed life work of a "Philosophy of Politics," he replied:

"I thought of it once as a great book. I can put all I know now into a very small one."

As he attempted to grasp from the accumulation of State Department files some of the reasons for the great holocaust across the seas, Wilson at first was ready to condemn all the belligerents impartially. For a few weeks he was, as he urged the nation to be, "neutral in fact as well as in name." But from the first he was unable to share the feeling of many of his less informed countrymen that the war did not need to affect the United States very intimately. For once he was on the side of the Stock Exchange. Both of them knew that a general European war must have profound repercussions in America. The difference — one of them — was that the Stock Exchange met the crisis by closing. The White House had to carry on.

In the beginning the legalistic concept of neutrality was attempted. Bryan as Secretary of State informed J. P. Morgan that loans to a belligerent would not be compatible with national policy, and most of the early international disputes involved Great Britain's blockade and consequent interference with American shipping. This

led to uncomfortable comparisons with the War of 1812, and the historian's fears of a deadly parallel led him to recall that he and Madison, who had been unable to keep the country out of the world war of his days, were the only Princetonians to become Presidents. In spite of these preoccupations, Wilson's gradual understanding of German ambitions led him to agree to the lifting of the ban on loans in 1915 and to tell the Cabinet in opposing an embargo on munitions shipments to belligerents:

"Gentlemen, the Allies are standing with their backs to the wall, fighting wild beasts. I will permit nothing to be done by our country to hinder or embarrass them in the prosecution of the war unless admitted rights are grossly violated."

He was not prepared, however, to attempt a share in the taming of the wild beasts. His public attitude was so impartial that it was vigorously denounced by pro-Allied groups, pro-Germans, militarists, pacifists, isolationists and interventionists. His chief concern was to keep out of war, and he had three principal reasons aside from the horror of senseless butchery which he had learned in his childhood. One was the fear that his domestic reforms would be lost. Another was his feeling that he had no right to drag the people into a war which he was sure they did not yet understand. But what came to be the most compelling was a belief that peace would be restored only if it could be attained before either side crushed the other. He wanted the United States to stay out so that it could serve as a reasonable mediator between enraged enemies.

Even the sinking of the *Lusitania* failed to turn Wilson from his course. The torpedoing occurred while his chief confidant, Col. House, was in London with instructions to see all the belligerents and report whether it would be possible to bring them to the conference table. The President knew very well he could sweep the country into war with a single emotional appeal, but instead he delivered his famous "too proud to fight" speech. The interventionists were roused to a high pitch of fury; Bryan was so afraid the firm tones of notes to Germany would lead to war that he resigned, but the British Ambassador reported that the President was at the peak of his popularity in the country at large. The Germans temporarily modified submarine warfare, principally because they did not have

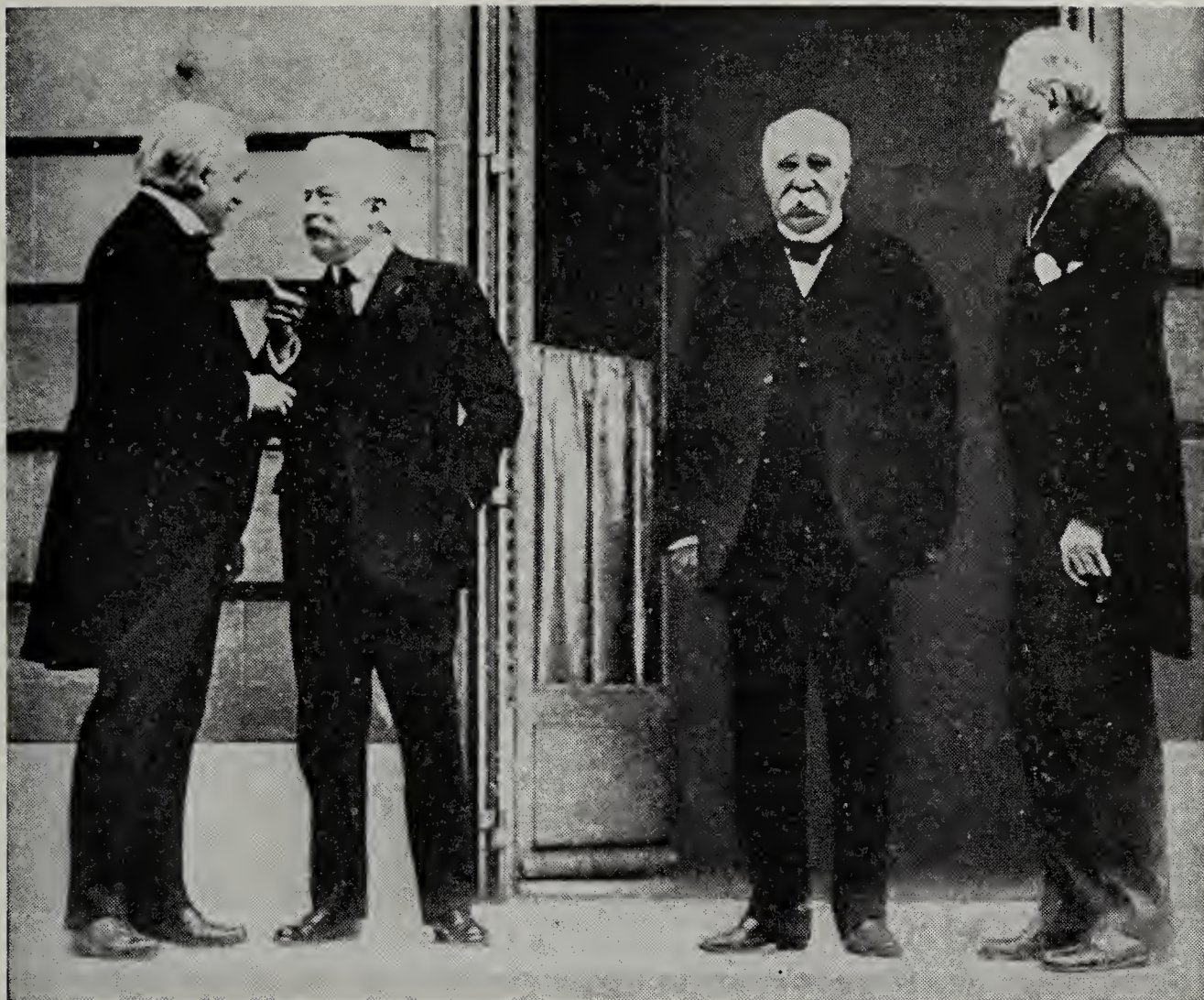
enough U-boats to make it effective, while Wilson, still seeking mediation, also began to strengthen the nation for war.

"I would be ashamed if I had not learned something in fourteen months," he publicly explained his reversal on preparedness.

A year later he was so doubtful of the success of any possible mediation that he resented the slogan, "He kept us out of war," which was proving very useful in his campaign for reelection. On election night it did not seem to have been useful enough, and jubilant Republicans were calling Charles Evans Hughes "Mr. President." Wilson was the most cheerful man in his own circle, laughing when he spoke to Tumulty and calling "Tell that to the marines" through the bathroom door when one of his daughters attempted to interrupt his morning ablutions with talk about victory. He had a plurality of over half a million in the popular vote no matter what happened, a pleasant reversal of his minority vote in 1912. He had achieved most of his domestic program; he had his great "Philosophy of Politics" before him; he had earned a rest and could look forward to the happiness of a home again, for in the previous December he had married Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt, a handsome Washington widow.

His cheerfulness was turned into gravity by the news thirty-six hours after the polls closed that he had carried California and with it the nation. His faithfulness to his political principles of responsible leadership had been shown in a plan he had prepared for his defeat. To avoid the then long interval between election and inauguration he had proposed to appoint Hughes Secretary of State and then resign along with Vice President Marshall so that the people's new choice could enter at once upon his duties.

In victory he showed that the willingness to fight, even to be beaten for a principle was just as strong in the White House as it had been at Princeton. Therefore, as he passed his sixtieth birthday, he was preparing one last effort to stop the war before the United States should become involved. This was his great "Peace without Victory" speech addressed in intent to the peoples and governments of Europe and in fact to the Senate of the United States. Wilson's education in world politics had progressed so far that he knew there was no such thing as victory in modern war. There can be won only



National Archives

The "Big Four" at the Paris Peace Conference: Prime Ministers Lloyd George of England, Orlando of Italy, Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

a new chance; for the rest there are only varying degrees of losses. But he meant, too, to avoid a settlement imposed upon any people if they could be persuaded to accept reason without being crushed. The terms he outlined were not his own invention; they were far better than that, for they were the ideals which had been held out as the aims of statesmanship by the most respected leaders of nearly all the world. They were also very practical politics, even more practical than strategic frontiers or colonies or spheres of influence or trade privileges.

For the old balance of power theory, Wilson proposed “a community of power” composed of states whose governments existed by consent of the governed, and which would guarantee a peace based on reduction of armaments to limits that would prevent aggression or render it impotent, on access to the sea and trade, on such acts of justice as the creation of an independent Poland. The United States, he said without contradiction, would be one of the guarantors of such a peace.

The speech, voicing much of the world’s fervent aspirations, had already been answered by the Germans, although Wilson did not know it when he delivered the address on January 22, 1917. Three days earlier Berlin had sent a note, to be delivered at the end of the month, announcing the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, a course which the German Ambassador privately regarded as a declaration of war against the United States. Wilson broke relations with Germany at once and then for two months tried to find some means of preserving American lives. This “armed neutrality” plan was a despairing gesture, prompted by his hatred of war rather than by intelligent hope, and on April 2 he went before a special session of Congress to request a declaration of war. The best remembered phrase was: “The world must be made safe for democracy,” but there was a very keen forecast of how that was to be done. In asking for war, Wilson declared that the peace to follow must be based on a “partnership of democratic nations,” and after detailing the government’s efforts to keep out of war he said:

“But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a

voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last all free.”

Congress voted the declaration four days later and the first Southern-born President since Zachary Taylor was the war leader of a united nation.

PREPARING FOR PEACE

In the actual fighting of the war, Wilson pretended to no expert knowledge. He obtained the best men he could — Pershing in the field and Tasker Bliss in the council for the Army, Sims for the Navy, Baruch for war industry, McAdoo for finance, Hoover for food on the home front. To these men he gave full authority, backed them to the limit and even took the blame for some of their actions when he believed in them. He pushed for such obvious Allied needs as a unified command in France and the convoy system for supplies from America. He broke strikes and took over the factories of recalcitrant manufacturers; nationalized for the duration both railroads and telegraph lines; he spoke for tolerance in the midst of war hysteria and for greater efforts in actually winning the war.

But in addition to the tremendous daily grind of a war President who must decide a thousand details that may be in dispute between his subordinates, Wilson was stubbornly clinging to his struggle for a just end to the conflict. Mediation was no longer part of his plan; the time for that had passed, but he was reversing an old slogan and in time of war was preparing for peace. It was going to be more difficult, he thought, than it would have been before, but he was determined to proceed. Even a perusal of most of the secret treaties among the Allies — not all were submitted by London and Paris and Rome and Tokyo for his perusal — failed to discourage him completely. He had a theory that the Allies would owe the United States so much money after the war that “We can force them to our way of thinking.”

He studied the documents with care, but for himself he preferred to organize a more practical, better informed post-war policy, and under Col. House’s direction there was set up a committee of experts

whose mission was to study the problems that would confront the peace conference, amass data, be prepared with proposals and answers to arguments. Yet in the country as a whole there seemed to be more enthusiasm for a declaration of war on Austria than for talk of generosity and justice. The progress of the war was more fascinating still, and as 1917 drew to an end, there was a good deal of exhaustion both from victory and defeat on the Western Front, while the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was preparing to take that country out of the war.

Against the background of these events, Wilson prepared an even more elaborate and detailed statement of peace aims than he had made a year before in his last attempt to avert war. This time the world listened, for there was a great deal more than generalities such as all statesmen had been offering as the objects for which they fought. There were Fourteen Points in the settlement Wilson outlined on January 8, 1918, and eight of them concerned the special problems of special nations. The rest demanded freedom of the seas and of trade, reduction of armaments, impartial adjustment of colonial claims, no more secret treaties and a League of Nations.

The program was more than a basis for peace negotiations. It was a tremendous weapon of war, for it burst upon the nations of Europe like a champion of liberation, renewing the faith of hard pressed Allied peoples and seriously undermining the morale of the enemy. The effects of that speech were so far reaching that it became one of the classic reasons why the next generation of aggressors made listening to such foreign expressions a capital offense. In 1918 it was recognized as the first and one of the hardest blows struck against Germany in that final year of combat.

Nine months later a beaten Reich, after some squirming in an effort to get better terms, was appealing for peace on the basis of these Fourteen Points. Wilson, hardened by four years of the world's most intensive education in foreign politics, handled the spokesmen of what was regarded as a dying order with great skill. In the midst of his negotiations he indulged in a partisan gesture which was widely believed to have cost him control of Congress — a statement for which it is impossible to present either proof or refutation. This was an appeal for a Democratic Congress, and the only

reasonably certain point about the incident is that no one would have remembered it if election day had been the Tuesday after instead of the Tuesday before the Armistice. But it was the Tuesday before; the electorate did not know, as Wilson did, that the war had been won, and the Republicans captured both Houses of Congress.

PEACEMAKER

The significance of the election faded fast as the problems of peace began to unfold with bewildering speed and complexity. When the guns stopped on November 11 along the Western Front, it did not mean that Europe was at peace. In the literal sense of the word, there was no peace in Russia, Poland, Finland and minor areas all through Central Europe. In a broader sense peace could hardly be said to exist in lands ruined by years of war where babies starved and factories were idle and farms deserted, nor in lands where fear of revolution or of former enemies in arms or of Allies grown strong and arrogant was more powerful than hope for the future.

Wherever those hopes existed, they were pretty sure to center in one man. History has not recorded so great a mass faith in the work of a single individual as Woodrow Wilson inspired at the end of 1918. He had voiced the aspirations of the people of thirty warring nations, and most of those people looked to him for the fulfillment of their desires.

Wilson knew that peace had to be made after the war, and he had determined long ago to be himself the leader of the American delegation to the Peace Conference. Accordingly, he set sail for Paris in December, 1918. On the trip across the Atlantic he told his advisors they must use justice as the foundation for the treaty of peace they all would be working out. His own prescription for making the future peace work was to create a league for international cooperation in which all nations would yield something of their jealously held rights in order to outlaw war. He hoped to tie this League of Nations into the peace treaty so that the League could correct errors as passion and hatred subsided after the war, for he had seen in his youth that peace after a bitter war was achieved only through men in whom bitterness had died. He knew that the League of Nations would be *the* part of the peace treaty that would

perpetuate the peace. It was the point on which he held the most profound convictions; it was the point on which the world had come to look to him for leadership; it was the point for which he was to work the hardest of all in the months ahead.

When he arrived in Paris for the Peace Conference the people of the city hailed him on first sight as "Wilson, The Just." In Italy there was even greater popular enthusiasm, if that were possible. Of course, the man was greatly exalted by the adulation, even worship of millions. But he had a very strong head for the wine of praise, and reports from the Allied councils had already warned him that his program for a peace based on justice so that it could be enforced would meet the opposition of the greedy, the timid, the weak and the ignorant. The story of his fight in Paris is the record of a struggle against these forces and of the final triumph of his ideal for the creation of a world organization.

Through the long, arduous negotiations, the Wilson of Princeton, Trenton and Washington was seen to be unchanged in fundamentals, although he had grown and broadened. In some way, too, he was still the Tommy Wilson of Georgia and South Carolina who had learned the futility of destruction. Grappling with the vast tangle of post-war problems, he was, at 62, still willing to fight and, if necessary, meet defeat on basic principles. With the details he was less concerned, and here he was willing to give way. He did this so often at Paris — yielding on boundaries, and colonies and trade rights — that he was accused of surrendering to the forces of reaction. But Wilson did not expect to reach a perfect solution of the world's troubles. Considering the mass of conflicting personalities and interests that were trying to make peace with the defeated nations, the wonder is not that in six months he failed to cure the world's ills but that the peacemakers managed to get a treaty at all.

Through months of patient toil, through days when every five minutes was occupied by a meeting into which an hour's work must be compressed, Wilson battled toward his goal. He hammered out the Covenant of a League of Nations, besides sitting in on the supposed settlement in the peace treaties of half the problems of humanity. The only rest he had was during the sea voyage on a quick trip to the United States, where the political opposition to any genuine

participation in a world organization was blowing up to hurricane proportions.

Neither illness nor weariness could overwhelm his fighting spirit and the finished treaty which he took home in June 1919, represented in his opinion a satisfactory, although not a brilliant, peace treaty.

It was much more than a treaty of peace with Germany: imbedded in it and inseparable from it was the Covenant of the League of Nations, which provided practicable machinery for world cooperation for the first time in the history of man. It associated the free governments of the world in a permanent League in which they were pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice. The League with its guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity for all nations would remedy, he thought, the obvious imperfections and omissions of the Treaty.

He had sacrificed a good deal to get as much as he did for his League. He lost his health; less important to Wilson was the loss of his popularity. Italians now reviled his name because he refused to give them an Adriatic port that could only be useful to them in annoying Yugoslavs. The French scorned him for his refusal to let them dismember Germany, for they did not have his faith in the protective possibilities of the League.

The ingratitude did not disturb him, but the unexpected refusal of his own country to accept the Treaty, with the League of Nations in it, did surprise him. He had been so close to the idea that he did not realize how distant it seemed from the ordinary lives of average Americans. They were, if we may judge by their press and their elected representatives, overwhelmingly in favor of a League of Nations. They were not particularly alert to the issue, however, and when the very tired peacemaker returned to Washington he found the Senate majority prepared to defeat his work and allow the world to plunge back into its old international anarchy.

The storm of opposition broke when he submitted the Treaty to the Senate the day after his return to Washington, for a number of Senators had already stated they would not ratify a treaty containing the Covenant of the League of Nations. For the most of them — Lodge, Penrose, Knox, Fall and the like — it was pure political ex-

pediency. Wilson had, however, retained his faith in the people's disgust for such tactics if the maneuver could be explained to them and, accordingly, he reached the conclusion that his hope lay in an appeal to the country at large.

So, gray and a little shrunken, he defied medical advice and set forth on a coast to coast speaking tour that might rouse the country to the real danger of repudiating the principle embodied in the League.

He gave his foes in the Senate a very real scare as he stormed across the land speaking to ever more enthusiastic audiences, until after a particularly happy meeting in Colorado the overdriven machinery of the frail body gave way, and Woodrow Wilson lay helpless while the little men he had perhaps too much despised while he was on his feet wrecked the crowning work of his life. In defeat he retained a certain serenity, even confidence, and was able to meet with something of his old skill the final humiliation which his foes inflicted when they sent Senator Albert B. Fall to see whether the President was competent to hold office.

"We are praying for you, Mr. President," Fall remarked unctuously.

"Which way, Senator?" Wilson retorted.

His mind, clear enough but tiring easily, mended more rapidly than his body. Nothing like full strength ever returned, and when it was time to yield his office to the robust but woefully insufficient Harding, Wilson was barely able to move about with the aid of a heavy stick. After all, his fighting days were over and from the seclusion of a comfortable house on S Street in Washington he watched the world head back to "normalcy," to the old system that could never curb the old spirit of aggression. The way was paved for another war but as the shadows deepened one bright beam still illumined the Wilsonian outlook on the world. His faith in his principles remained, strong and bright as ever, so that in his last public speech, just a few words on Armistice Day, November 11, 1923, he told the world:

"I am not one of those that have the least anxiety about the triumph of the principles I have stood for. I have seen fools resist Providence before, and I have seen their destruction, as will come



International News

President Wilson on his tour of the country in 1919, speaking on behalf of the League of Nations.

upon these again, utter destruction and contempt. That we shall prevail is as sure as that God reigns.”

Three months later Woodrow Wilson was dying, and there was a curious popular reaction. The press of the world, as a matter of routine, stood ready to blazon the news in its boldest type. But under the bare trees in S Street, a considerable crowd of strangers to Wilson knelt on cold stone in the raw February wind to pray for the man who had fought for peace.

LEGACY

The work of all world leaders survives in many subtle ways for good or evil, but Woodrow Wilson had a more tangible memorial than most. His great creation, the League of Nations, officially began its life on January 10, 1920. It became many things to many men, but it filled a big place in the lives of all of them whether they looked upon it as a magnificent palace in Geneva, or a center for international hope and justice, or a collection of futile and faintly ridiculous figureheads, or a network of technical agencies doing essential jobs for the good of all mankind. Fifty-three sovereign states had joined the League of Nations by the time Wilson died. Russia and Germany joined later. The United States never became a member.

The League of Nations lived for twenty-six years and survived its founder by twenty-two. It was a life of incident and high drama. Great decisions of peace and war hung upon the League's proceedings. Great problems of trade and finance, of labor and liberty, of health and life itself were settled — sometimes successfully and sometimes not, as is the case with any human organization.

For Americans there is a hopeful parallel between the League and the Confederacy of Thirteen States which fought our War of Independence and struggled in vain to reconcile sovereignty with unity until replaced by “a more perfect union” in 1789. The League of Nations has been succeeded by the United Nations — the rest of the parallel is still in the hopes of men — and the contributions which the League made to useful forms of international cooperation can now be seen plainly, along with some of the inevitable weaknesses.

Before the League came into force every nation of the world had

been able to claim that it alone had the sole right to decide whether to make war or not. This right was formally renounced by each nation when it became a member of the League. The League showed the possibilities of peaceful organization in a world that was willing to work out its problems through international cooperation and it proved that men from all the continents and more than fifty countries could work together in peace. For the first time, too, the formation of the League provided the opportunity for small nations to speak up freely and boldly in League meetings and to express their opinions of the deeds of their more powerful neighbors.

The League achieved some notable international settlements in disputes which might easily have led to war or aggression. The first two countries to argue a case before the League were Sweden and Finland. The Aaland Islands were part of the territory of Finland, but the population of the Islands was Swedish. The Islanders wanted to become part of Sweden; Finland insisted on keeping them. The members of the League decided the case and both disputants accepted the verdict, although it did not altogether please either.

Another triumph of the League was the industrial settlement in Upper Silesia. As a result of a 1921 plebiscite, two-thirds of the territory was awarded to Germany and one-third to Poland. The cries of Germans and Poles, each of whom claimed the whole territory, obscured the fact that the settlement by the League provided history's first successful operation of an economic unit divided by national boundaries. Silesian mines and industries worked well under this settlement for fifteen years.

There were many other items of mediation, conciliation and settlement which would once have been thought marvels. Austria was rescued from chaos and put upon a financial basis which enabled her to survive until the Nazi conquest. War between Italy and Greece over the island of Corfu was averted, despite Mussolini's blustering in 1923. Territorial problems of Memel and Mosul were settled — the first involving touchy Germans, Poles and Lithuanians, the second needing to satisfy Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain in a case where oil was at stake.

The League's action in the crisis between Greece and Bulgaria is a classic example of how well the League could work. In 1925, in

a frontier skirmish between Greece and Bulgaria, a Greek officer had been shot dead. The Greek government, instead of laying its grievance before the League, took the law into its own hands and invaded Bulgarian territory. The Greek commander with his forces was ready to launch a heavy attack against the Bulgarian city of Petric.

Notified by the Bulgarian government of the invasion, the League went into immediate action. Members rushed by airplane to a meeting of the League called to deal with the emergency. Orders to fight were cancelled one hour before they were to go into effect, and the Greek commander soon fell back with his troops. Shooting that might have led to a long war was stopped by firm and instantaneous action.

The catalogue of disputes peaceably settled could be continued. They are emphasized here because they have been overshadowed in men's minds by the ones which were not settled in the same way.

The League had other successes to its credit. The system of mandates brought something new to the handling of under-developed countries. German colonies and Turkish territories, instead of being divided among the victorious nations, were put under the trusteeship of the League which designated various powers to administer them under its watchful eye. Here was set up, for the first time, an international standard for the government of subject peoples in their own interest, rather than in the interest of a stronger power.

International law received further strengthening through the Permanent Court of International Justice, established at The Hague in Holland. Its thirty-two judgments and twenty-seven advisory opinions gave it great stature. Its last President has written that the Court made "the most effective contribution which it has so far been possible to make to legal science and to the progress of international law."

In their field, the economic and social agencies of the League pioneered in new fields of international cooperation and worked out the blue print from which the United Nations Economic and Social Council was built. The economic and social activities of the League became increasingly important and special organizations were set up to deal with such every-day matters as wages, nutrition, education, health, housing, taxation, and emigration throughout the world.

These sometimes had to fight against selfishness and penny-saving, but they persevered and pioneered in new fields with great success. They made an important contribution to the welfare of mankind, and the best experts in the world worked willingly for their humanitarian purposes. We shall try to list only a small part of the great work done by the agencies of the League in these fields.

The Health Organization introduced standards of good health, fought against epidemics, studied tropical diseases in Africa and sent health missions to the Far East. The Economic and Financial Organization carried out investigations on commercial policy, tariffs, raw materials, and other economic subjects. Another organization worked on problems of railways, ports and rivers and the new and growing problems of air traffic and radio. The drug committee tried to control world traffic and limit the use of habit-forming drugs to medical and scientific purposes. A fifth organization worked for higher standards of welfare for women and children. The Refugee Organization worked to help refugees from war and revolution. Although it had little money it gave refugees legal protection and helped them find work. Among others, it helped refugees from Nazi Germany. The Committee on Intellectual Cooperation tried to strengthen the League's influence for peace. It brought together scholars, scientists, authors, and artists throughout the world. The International Labour Organization effectively labored to secure just and humane conditions for workers and the well-being of industrial wage earners.

So far, one may believe, the League has been so successful that it can hardly have died. But in the midst of its successes were the betrayals and the abandonment. The League proved itself an instrument that could be used to establish international order. But too often, when it came to the point, the governments of member nations ignored or by-passed it. Gradually, through lack of use, its muscles atrophied. The complaint most frequently voiced was that the League failed to prevent aggression and war. So it did. So must any organization unless it is backed by the energy and resources, moral and physical, of men. This is one lesson that the League taught in its failures as well as in its successes.

With the United States as an original member, would it have

evolved without war into such an effective machine that it could have prevented aggression? The historians probably never will finish arguing the point, but many will agree with Joseph Paul-Boncour of France, who, at the last meeting of the League, cried:

“It was not the League which failed. It was not its principles which were found wanting. It was the nations which neglected it. It was the Governments which abandoned it.”

The beginning of the end was Japanese aggression in Manchuria in September, 1931. The League moved quickly but a proposal to take action against the aggressor failed because the Japanese themselves had a veto and they voted against effective measures. The United States pursued its own independent course of action, although the League was encouraged by a message from the United States Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, that his government “acting independently through its diplomatic representatives will endeavor to reinforce what the League does.” Sentiment in the United States, deep in the depression now, failed to support Stimson. England, which had just gone off the gold standard as the Japanese troops struck at Mukden, was even more timid. The Soviet Union, next most powerful of the interested states, held aloof.

The League worked on to solve the conflict raging between China and Japan and sent a Commission of Inquiry to the Far East to look into the situation first hand. Based on the results of its investigation, the members of the League decided that Japan was, indeed, the aggressor and that it was guilty of violating the Covenant. Angry that the decision was not in its favor and unwilling to negotiate peaceably, Japan quit the League to pursue its independent course of defiance and war in the Far East. The aggressor was permitted to triumph.

The failure of sanctions against Italy in her conquest of Ethiopia in 1935 was an even more spectacular blow at League prestige. The conquest of Ethiopia was carried out by the Fascist government of Italy, to expand its overseas territory, although Italy claimed it invaded Ethiopia in self defense. The members of the League decided to try to stop the conquest by prohibiting the export of arms and raw materials of war to Italy and severing trade and financial aid. Although the attempt ended in failure and Ethiopia was annexed by

Italy, this was the first time in the history of the world that nations made a joint attempt to repress a war in which they were not directly concerned. Many realized that if the larger powers were permitted to commit aggression when they wished, their own nations would be in danger.

From the first days of the League, the essence of its thought and hopes had been that armaments should be brought under international control. Year after year, the question of disarmament was discussed and debated, but all efforts towards international control failed and, in the spring of 1935, the principal powers in Europe announced that a new armaments race had begun. Japan's successful aggression and the new Nazi dictatorship, which took Germany out of the League, stimulated fears that were leading all the major powers of Europe to re-arm.

When Hitler marched troops into the Rhineland in violation of treaties which Germany had voluntarily accepted as well as those imposed upon her, the League was hardly consulted. With the formation of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, propaganda against the League became a major part of the ideological struggle, and it was as effective as that by which the future Allies of World War II were lulled and diverted.

In the Spanish Civil War, the appeal of the Spanish Republic, which was a League member, against intervention by Germany and Italy went virtually unheeded. Resolutions were introduced and the subject was debated, but at no time were sanctions, even of the kind attempted against Italy in 1935, seriously considered. China's charges of aggression against Japan in 1937 were found to be justified, but the delegates of governments which were soon to be involved in the appeasement of Munich were hardly prepared to vote any decisive action against Japan.

As the Axis whirled on toward war, the breaches of peace were not even taken up by the League at Geneva. The fall of Czechoslovakia to Germany, the annexation of Albania by Italy, were not challenged. By a final irony, the fuse to the bomb which set off the great explosion in 1939 was a city technically under League government. Englishmen were professing a great reluctance to "die for Danzig," but no pretence of utilizing the League to avert that neces-

sity was made. All the nations of Europe were negotiating feverishly for alliances and protection in the old pre-Wilsonian manner.

With the outbreak of World War II, the League went into its final eclipse. But the vitality of the great idea which animated it survived. In a final flicker of political action, the League expelled Russia, which had joined in 1934, for the attack on Finland. After that the handsome palace in Geneva was virtually deserted, while a handful of men and women preserved the archives, the special agencies and enough of the spirit of the League so that there could be a revival.

Toward the end of the war, as victory came near, the words of Woodrow Wilson began to be quoted once again in the free world. When Roosevelt and Churchill met on a warship on the Atlantic, the resulting statement was hailed as another "Fourteen Points." When the United Nations Charter was drafted in San Francisco, in 1945, there was the even more sincere flattery of imitation. And, although the men who formed the United Nations almost studiously avoided very much mention of the League and its founder, they built upon the foundations laid by Wilson.

In 1946, the League Assembly formally dissolved the organization and turned over the legacy of its hopes, its ideals and its physical properties to the new United Nations. Its last President, Carl J. Hambro of Norway, reminded his fellows:

"What we may have gained in experience, what lessons we may have learned in the League of Nations, we bring to the new organization, the new edifice of international cooperation. Our disappointments and disillusionments may be turned to use in cementing the structure of a new system of world security."

". . . and, fellow delegates, let us not forget at this last moment in the active history of the League, the name of President Woodrow Wilson, which will be perpetuated in Geneva."

CHRONOLOGY

- 1856 December 28 — Woodrow Wilson born in Staunton, Virginia
- 1873–1886 — Pursued studies at Davidson College, Princeton University, University of Virginia and Johns Hopkins University
- 1902 October — Inaugurated President of Princeton University, after teaching at Bryn Mawr College, Wesleyan University and Princeton University
- 1910 November 8 — Elected Governor of New Jersey
- 1913 March 4 — Inaugurated President of the United States after a campaign based on the principles of the “New Freedom”
- 1913 December 23 — Signed Act creating Federal Reserve System
- 1914 March 14 — Initiated custom of Presidential Press Conference
- 1914 August 4 — Proclaimed U. S. neutrality on outbreak of World War I
- 1914 October 15 — Signed Clayton Anti-Trust Act
- 1916 July 17 — Signed Federal Farm Loan Act
- 1916 September 1 — Signed Keating-Owen Act regulating child labor
- 1916 November 7 — Elected President for second term
- 1917 April 2 — Asked Congress for declaration of war on Germany
- 1918 January 8 — Proclaimed Fourteen Points as basis for world peace
- 1918 November 11 — Armistice with Germany proclaimed
- 1918 December 4 — Sailed for Europe to attend Paris Peace Conference
- 1919 April 28 — Peace Conference unanimously adopted League of Nations Covenant
- 1919 July 10 — Presented the Peace Treaty, including League of Nations, to the U. S. Senate for ratification
- 1919 September 26 — Illness ended Western tour to rally support for Treaty and League of Nations
- 1920 March 19 — U. S. Senate refused to approve Treaty and League of Nations
- 1924 February 3 — Died at his home in Washington, D. C.; buried in Washington Cathedral February 6.

WOODROW WILSON'S OWN WORDS

ON EDUCATION

The only thing that ever set any man free, the only thing that ever set any nation free, is the truth. A man that is afraid of the truth is afraid of the law of life.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 29, 1916

The object of a liberal training is not learning, but discipline and the enlightenment of the mind. The educated man is to be discovered by his point of view, by the temper of his mind, by his attitude towards life and his fair way of thinking. He can see, he can discriminate, he can combine ideas and perceive whither they lead; he has insight and comprehension. His mind is a practised instrument of appreciation. He is more apt to contribute light than heat to a discussion . . .

Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 1, 1909

ON AMERICAN IDEALS

Men have been drawn to this country by the same thing that has made us love this country — by the opportunity to live their own lives and to think their own thoughts and to let their whole natures expand with the expansion of a free and mighty Nation. We have brought out of the stocks of all the world all the best impulses and have appropriated them and Americanized them and translated them into the glory and majesty of a great country.

Washington, D. C., May 16, 1914

Democratic institutions are never done — they are like the living tissue, always a-making. It is a strenuous thing this of living the life of a free people; and we cannot escape the burden of our inheritance.

"Make Haste Slowly," April 30, 1889

I believe that the glory of America is that she is a great spiritual conception and that in the spirit of her institutions dwells not only her distinction but her power. The one thing that the world cannot permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions.

Washington, D. C., October 11, 1915

ON LIBERTY

I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. But we shall not be poor if we love liberty because the nation that loves liberty truly sets every man free to do his best and be his best, and that means the release of all the splendid energies of a great people who think for themselves.

Mobile, Alabama, October 27, 1913

Liberty does not consist . . . in mere general declarations of the rights of men. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 4, 1914

ON PEACE AND WAR

It is the business of civilization to get together by discussion and not by fighting.

Sioux Falls, South Dakota, September 8, 1919

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Washington, D. C., April 2, 1917

The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

Washington, D. C., May 27, 1916

What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The wisest thing to do with a fool is to encourage him to hire a hall and discourse to his fellow-citizens. Nothing chills nonsense like exposure to the air.

"Constitutional Government," 1908

I not only use all the brains I have, but all I can borrow.

Washington, D. C., March 20, 1914

SUGGESTED READING

The following books have been selected on the basis of their general interest and availability. Consult your librarian for books not readily obtainable.

ALSOP, EM BOWLES (ed.). *The Greatness of Woodrow Wilson*. Rinehart and Company, 1956.

BAKER, RAY STANNARD. *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1927-1939. 8 vols. Also Potomac edition, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946. 7 vols.

BAKER, RAY STANNARD and WILLIAM E. DODD (eds.). *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. Authorized edition. Harper & Brothers, 1925-1927. 6 vols. Reprinted by Harper, 1927, in a 3 volume edition.

DAY, DONALD (ed.). *Woodrow Wilson's Own Story*. Little Brown and Company, 1952.

FARMER, FRANCES (ed.). *The Wilson Reader*. Oceana Publications, 1956.

HATCH, ALDEN. *Woodrow Wilson, A Biography for Young People*. Henry Holt and Company, 1947.

LINK, ARTHUR S. *Wilson: The Road to the White House*. Princeton University Press, 1947.

LINK, ARTHUR S. *Wilson: The New Freedom*. Princeton University Press, 1956.

MCADOO, ELEANOR WILSON. *The Woodrow Wilsons*. The Macmillan Company, 1937.

MONSELL, HELEN A. *Woodrow Wilson: Boy President*. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950. (For youthful readers, age 9-12).

WILSON, EDITH BOLLING. *My Memoir*. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939.

WILSON, WOODROW. *The Politics of Woodrow Wilson: Selections from his Speeches and Writings*. Edited by August Heckscher. Harper and Brothers, 1956.

WILSON, WOODROW. *Congressional Government*. Meridian Books, 1956.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PROGRAMS

Plan an assembly or class program, essay contest, or debate in your school. Present a dramatization of Wilson's life. Ask for collateral reading and special reports. Show the Woodrow Wilson documentary film. In your school newspaper, plan a special issue or feature section on Woodrow Wilson.

Plan an exhibit of material on Woodrow Wilson in your library. Display books, magazine articles, pictures, material of the era. Provide reading lists. Show the Woodrow Wilson documentary film and discuss it afterwards.

For adult and club groups, plan a luncheon or dinner meeting with a local speaker or a faculty member from a nearby college. Show the Woodrow Wilson documentary film. Organize forums, panel discussions and study groups. Sponsor memorial ceremonies on Veterans Day, Armed Services Day and other appropriate occasions associated with Wilson. Publish articles on Wilson in bulletins and newsletters.

For churches and religious bodies, offer sermons, memorial services, inter-faith panels, discussions by men's and women's groups. Show the Woodrow Wilson documentary film.

PROGRAM AIDS

Useful points in planning a program on Woodrow Wilson:

Include officers of other organizations, newspaper editors, school and public officials, faculty members, clergy and similar distinguished local individuals on the panel or forum, discussion and other presentations.

Locate some interesting local historical information to tie in with your program. Ask your local newspaper or library if and when Wilson made an appearance in your city or locality on any of his many speaking tours. You may also find some individual who knew Wilson or served in the Wilson administration or World War I.

Ask your local college or other educational institutions for the names of scholars or authorities on Wilson and teachers and professors who will deliver talks on Wilson.

Use quotations from Woodrow Wilson to stimulate ideas for talks, debates, essays, and lectures.

Examine Wilson's contribution to the national and international policies of the United States; his contributions to international organization; the impact of Wilson's ideas today.

DOCUMENTARY FILM ON WOODROW WILSON

WOODROW WILSON: SPOKESMAN FOR TOMORROW is a unique historical, documentary film made from original newsreels, documents and cartoons of Wilson's time. It presents authentic contemporary scenes of Wilson's career in Princeton, the White House, World War I, the Paris Peace Conference and the dramatic speaking tour when Wilson endeavored to win the support of the American people for the League of Nations.

16 mm, black and white, 27-minute sound film, produced by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and distributed by McGraw Hill Text-film Department or your usual rental sources.

A kit of material on Woodrow Wilson and discussion guides for use with showings of the film will be provided free of charge upon request to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

PRINTED MATERIALS

The following program aids are available from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, free of charge upon request.

Woodrow Wilson — Educator

Woodrow Wilson — Man of Religion

Woodrow Wilson — President

Woodrow Wilson — World Statesman

Discussion guides by Perry Laukhuff. Questions for discussion and reading list. 8 pages each.

Woodrow Wilson Reading List

Leaflet listing books by and about Woodrow Wilson.

The Story of Woodrow Wilson

By David Loth. Illustrated pamphlet. 1957 edition.

A Selection of Books Relating to Woodrow Wilson

Scholarly bibliography by Katharine E. Brand, 1948. Supplement by Perry Laukhuff, 1956.

*Official Documents: Texts of Selected Documents on
U. S. Foreign Policy, 1918-1956*

Includes texts of the Fourteen Points and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation

Descriptive folder outlining program and activities.

RETURN SLIP

I am planning a program on
Woodrow Wilson in my_____

Fill in: school, library, club, etc.

How many people will participate?_____

Send me printed materials on Wilson_____

Send me information on the Wilson film_____

Send me kit of Wilson material for use with the film_____

Send me discussion guides for use with the film. How many?_____

Name_____

Organization_____

Address_____

WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION

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Woodrow Wilson

